

CHARACTERISTICS OF HAUNTINGS WITH AND WITHOUT
APPARITIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF PUBLISHED CASES

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ABSTRACT

The study of characteristics of hauntings is useful for a variety of purposes, such as the empirical exploration of subtypes of cases and clusters of features. Consequently a study was conducted of the characteristics of 172 haunting cases collected and coded for specific characteristics by Alan Gauld (Gauld & Cornell, 1979). The study focused on the features of the cases as a function of reports of human apparitions by comparing cases with that feature ($N = 89$) against cases without it ($N = 83$). Following Stevenson's (1972) speculations on poltergeist phenomena it was hypothesized that cases with apparitions would show a higher frequency of features indicating intelligence and intention than cases without apparitions. The predictions were not confirmed, but there was a higher frequency in the apparition group of reports of doors or windows opening or shutting ($p = 0.035$) and hands seen or felt ($p = 0.022$). Analyses of ratings done by Gauld on the value of testimony and detail in the cases showed significant differences favouring the cases with apparitions. A comparison of characteristics other than apparitions showed a higher mean for the apparition cases (6.0 vs. 4.3, $p = 0.0042$, 2-tailed). This may indicate that hauntings may be modified by their apparitional content. Work like this may eventually allow us to develop empirically-derived taxonomies and classifications that could start addressing different explanatory models of hauntings.

INTRODUCTION

Hauntings, a variety of manifestations generally considered to be localized in houses and other places, have long been of interest to psychical researchers. The manifestations in question include reports of human apparitions, auditory effects such as voices, raps and other noises, and other phenomena that include movement of objects, smells, cold breezes and luminous effects (Table 1 presents some examples of hauntings). The literature on the subject is varied, as seen in the discussions of Bozzano (1925), Bret (1939), Flammarion (1924), Gauld and Cornell (1979) and MacKenzie (1982). Most of the published literature on the subject consists of single case reports, such as those of Barrett (1915), Gauld (1972), Goodrich-Freer and the Marquess of Bute (1900), MacKenzie (1967), Maher and Hansen (1992), Morton (1892) and Piccinini (1991).

While reports of single cases are invaluable in the study of hauntings, it is also essential to view the cases collectively. The work of Bozzano (1925) and Sidgwick (1885) are examples of the case-collection approach to hauntings which outlined the phenomenological dimensions of hauntings and attempted to make theoretical sense of these manifestations. Gauld conducted an important study in which he distinguished poltergeist (person-centred) from haunting (place-centred) cases through cluster-analysis, finding that place-centred cases had a higher frequency of long cases (a year or more), nocturnal cases, raps, imitative noises, human apparitions, luminous effects, cold breezes and smells, among other phenomena (Gauld & Cornell, 1979).

Table 1

Examples of Hauntings from Gauld's Catalogue

<i>Case No.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Phenomena</i>
4	Kempton, near Bingen, Germany	AD 856-8	Small objects thrown; raps; phantasms; fire; ESP manifested through phenomena
7	Le Mans, France	within 1135-1144	Apports; raps; imitative noises; voices; fire; communication; communication with deceased person; filth thrown
17	Eistett, near Nuremberg, Germany	1414-1418 within c. a year	Raps; imitative noises; voices; phantasms
22	Milan, Italy	c. 1464	Raps; hands seen
28	Suptitz, near Torgau Germany	1537-8 (at least a year)	Small objects thrown; voices
46	Macon, France	14 Sept.-22 Dec. 1612	Small objects thrown; raps; imitative noises; voices; phantasms; objects hot; objects arranged; bedclothes disturbed; assault; animals attacked; ESP manifested through phenomena; doors, etc., opened; marked objects returned
111	Epworth, Lincs, England	1 Dec. 1716- 1717 (at least March)	Large objects thrown; raps; imitative noises; voices; phantasms; small animals; assault; communication through phenomena; doors, etc., opened; handles, etc., moved
237	Hammersmith, England	c. 1870-1883	Imitative noises; voices; phantasms; light; bedclothes disturbed; cold breeze; doors, etc., opened
258	England?	1877-1882	Small objects thrown; large objects thrown; raps; imitative noises; voices; phantasms; lights; bedclothes disturbed; oppression in bed; doors, etc., opened; filth thrown
259	Strathtay, Perthshire, Scotland	c. 1878 - 6 May 1897	Large objects thrown; raps; imitative noises; voices; phantasms; small animals; bedclothes disturbed; oppression in bed; doors, etc., opened
325	near Minster, Kent, England	(at least) c. 1905-1965	Raps; imitative noises; phantasms
428	Pittsburg, USA	c. July 1971 - 22 Apr. 1972	Small objects thrown; large objects thrown; imitative noises; voices; phantasms; misty figures; electrical equipment affected

Note. The case numbers in the table refer to the consecutive numbers in Gauld's catalogue.

Although we have learned much about the characteristics of hauntings, we believe there is much more that needs to be done regarding the study of the phenomenological 'structure' of these cases. A more careful study of the features of hauntings will be useful for a variety of purposes. First, it will help us to distinguish hauntings from other phenomena. This is clearly illustrated in Gauld's differential analyses of hauntings and poltergeists. We may also learn to separate more clearly hauntings from other phenomena such as delusions and hallucinations. Second, such studies will be instrumental in developing taxonomies of the experience that will allow us to explore the possibility that we may be dealing with different classes or types of phenomena. This, in turn, will be useful in the development and testing of explanatory models. But to accomplish this we need to explore the interrelationship between the features of the phenomenon, among other aspects.

In this paper we address some of these issues using our reanalysis of cases of hauntings collected by Gauld (Gauld & Cornell, 1979, pp.363-398). We decided to focus on a particular feature of the cases; that is, on reports of human apparitions. This feature was reported in 52% of the 172 place-centred cases collected by Gauld. It was the third most frequent feature of the cases after imitative and miscellaneous noises (92%) and raps (72%).

According to Bozzano (1925, pp.7-8, our trans.), haunting apparitions . . .

. . . far from appearing enveloped in the white spectral robe of the old legends, appear dressed with the clothing of their times. In general, their appearance is so realistic that they may be considered to be living persons; sometimes they appear distinctively, but transparent; other times, only as shadows with human form. In the majority of the cases they seem to enter through a door, continue walking and enter into another room, in which they disappear; but they frequently appear and disappear instantly and in the same place . . . ; or they are seen . . . to go through a wall, [or through] a closed door. Sometimes they walk; other times they glide without touching the floor . . . Their manifestation is generally preceded by a vague sense of presence . . . ; if [the percipient] gets closer he will feel a sort of cold wind. One of the main traits . . . is their apparent indifference towards onlookers . . . [But] there are many exceptions, in which the phantom shows awareness of the presence of people, whom he frequently addresses directly by means of gestures and words . . .

Table 2 summarizes the findings of previous case-collection studies of haunting apparitions. The apparitional component of hauntings has been the main characteristic of some cases, such as the well-known Cheltenham Ghost (Morton, 1892), and of later cases studied by Cameron and Roll (1983), Maher and Schmeidler (1975) and Osis (1986). But apparitions are often accompanied by other phenomena, as seen in Table 1.

In our reanalyses of Gauld's cases we were interested in exploring the relationship between apparitions and other variables such as quality of testimony and phenomena other than apparitions reported in haunting cases. Are haunting cases with apparitions different from hauntings in which no apparitions have been reported, or are they, as argued by Gauld (1982, p.247), only one class of cases? Gauld himself has pointed out (as have others before him) that in some recurrent apparitions "there is a greater or less admixture of characteristic 'haunting' phenomena" (Gauld & Cornell, 1979, p.178) such as sound and movements of objects. On the other hand, Myers (1903) argued that movements of objects do not coincide with apparitions. In his words,

Table 2

Analyses and Discussions of Haunting Apparitions

<i>Study</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Bushell et al. (1884)	19	Seven cases were related to violent deaths. Apparitions did not seem conscious.
Sidgwick (1885)		No evidence of relationship with crimes or tragedy nor of intelligent action. No clear relationship with percipient's sex, age, health or emotional state.
Sidgwick et al. (1894)	30	Unrecognized apparitions. 50% of the cases seemed to represent deceased persons known to the percipients, the rest seemed to represent dead persons not known to the percipients.
Bozzano (1925)	311	In 76 cases the apparitions were recognized; in 41 they were identified later through pictures, descriptions and clothing. Some apparitions (114) seemed aware of persons present in the locality. Some characteristics include: realistic appearance (though sometimes transparent), appear and disappear in the same place, go through walls and doors, walk or glide, sometimes preceded by sense of presence and accompanied by cold breezes.
Tyrrell (1953)	9	Haunting apparitions similar to apparitions occurring in other contexts in terms of lack of physical basis, collective percipience, and the way they are seen in space. Theme of haunting apparition ('brooding reminiscence') may be different from the theme of other apparitions.

"as a rule, where figures appear there are no movements; and where there are movements no apparition is seen" (Vol. 2, p. 72; this idea also seems to have been accepted by Bret, 1939).

We were interested in exploring the possibility that such other phenomena as occurred were moderated by the presence or absence of apparitions in the haunting cases. This idea was our motivation for testing predictions based on ideas presented by Ian Stevenson. Stevenson (1972) has suggested possible differences in the characteristics of poltergeist cases between those of presumed living and those of presumed deceased agency. He proposed a bipolar model in which discarnate agency was associated with complex manifestations and manifestations showing apparent or assumed intention or intelligence (e.g.

meaningful raps, mediumistic communications and apparitions). Following the second assumption of his rationale, we argue that cases of hauntings from the Gaud collection in which apparitions are reported should have a higher frequency of characteristics that reflect intention and intelligence and that a significant difference should be found between haunting cases with and without apparitions on these characteristics. Specifically, we focused on: voices, groans and whistles, possession and obsession, ESP manifested through the phenomena, communication through phenomena (e.g. raps), reports of communication with a daemon or with a deceased person, and direct writing, painting and drawing.

The survival assumptions behind Stevenson's differential predictions may be questioned, as can be seen in the writings of those who have argued that the predictions are arbitrary and that what Stevenson considers indicative of discarnate agency may be explained through a living-agency model (Cassirer, 1973; Hövelmann & Zorab, 1987; Roll, 1982). Nonetheless, Stevenson's ideas may be used as the starting-point to test survival-related ideas and to look for possible differences in the features of hauntings as they relate to apparitions. Comparisons of this sort may prove to be useful in empirically advancing earlier attempts to develop a typology of hauntings (e.g. Bozzano, 1925), a necessary prelude to more sophisticated theory-testing work such as that proposed by Osis (1981).

METHOD

Description of Gaud's Collection

Gaud's original case collection of haunting and poltergeist cases consists of 500 cases (Gaud & Cornell, 1979, pp.363-398). The collection was compiled from previously published sources. Gaud included short and non-evidential reports as well as detailed and evidential ones. Each case was rated on two scales: for value of testimony (ranging from 1 for low to 10 for high), and detail in the case report (from 1 for low to 5 for high). The ratings for testimony were based on aspects such as the presence of more than one witness, how soon after their occurrence the events were recorded, and the presence or absence of instrumental recording. The detail ratings were based on how much detail was given in the case reports (from very little to a very detailed logging of events). Detail ratings were taken from the best of the testimony, not from all of it, thus making the two characteristics somewhat interdependent. Gaud also coded his cases for the presence or absence of 63 specific variables (e.g. country, trickery, male or female agent, house-centred, daytime or nocturnal occurrences, raps, apparitions, luminous effects, fires, direct writing, voices, levitation, cold breezes, smells).

Gaud performed cluster analyses from which he derived two clusters. Cluster 1 ($N = 328$) was composed mainly of person-centred cases, while cases in Cluster 2 ($N = 172$) were mainly house-centred. Among the factors distinguishing Cluster 2 from Cluster 1 were a statistically-significant higher frequency of longer cases (a year or more in duration), nocturnal cases, raps, imitative noises, human phantasms, luminous effects, cold breezes and smells, among other phenomena.

Selection of Cases

Our analyses were done using Gauld's Cluster 2 cases. More particularly, we used the cases coded by Gauld as having reports of human apparitions (52%, or 89 Cluster 2 cases). We selected Gauld's case collection for convenience, since the information was presented in a form conducive to further analyses. In addition, because the cases were selected from a statistically-derived cluster we felt confident that our sample included cases with similar characteristics. Consequently, for our purposes a haunting case was defined in this study as a case assigned by Gauld to Cluster 2, and a haunting apparition case as one in which an apparition was also present as a case characteristic.

Table 3

Characteristics of Hauntings from Gauld's Collection (N = 172)

<i>Feature</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Feature</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Trickery	1	Objects arranged	3
Natural causes found	2	Objects animated	1
Investigated by competent outsiders	12	Bedclothes, pillows disturbed	19
Lasted less than a year	28	Cloth, clothes cut or torn	3
Lasted a year or more	52	Hair cut	1
Daytime	13	Persons in bed felt oppression	6
Nocturnal	78	Assault (pinches, blows and scratches)	15
Male agent	3	Animals attacked or annoyed	5
Female agent	10	Possession or obsession	1
Focal person under 20	4	Levitation of persons	5
Focal person 20 or over	9	Phenomena seemed to manifest ESP	2
Focal person disturbed	3	Communication through phenomena	15
House-centred phenomena	30	Communication with 'daemon'	2
Small objects moved	33	Communication with deceased person	9
Larger objects moved	34	Witch blamed	5
Objects moved as if 'carried'	6	Exorcism successful	4
Apports	15	Exorcism unsuccessful	1
Objects appear in mid-air, seem to pass through ceiling	1	Exorcism temporarily successful	1
Raps, etc.	72	Cold breeze or air movement	9
Imitative and miscellaneous noises	92	Metal bent or broken	1
Voices, groans, whistles, etc.	47	Doors or windows opened or shut	20
Phantasms	52	Latches, handles or door seemed to move, locks turned, keys moved	10
Small animals seen, heard or felt	10	Direct writing, painting, drawing	3
Misty figures	3	Marked stones thrown away or returned	1
Luminous effects	22	Candles or lamps put out, burned low or burned blue	8
Incendiary effects	6	Wire bells, other bells rung	8
Objects thrown or transported found hot	2	Plants uprooted, damaged	1
Inundations of water, cold water, water boils over, etc.	4	Structural damage	2
Electrical installation, switches tampered with	2	Hands seen or felt	13
Spontaneous breakages	3	Filth, excrement thrown or spread	4
		Offensive smells	4

Data Processing and Analysis

The information coded by Gauld was analysed using the Number Cruncher Statistical System (Version 5.1). We used the program to perform cross-tabulations and statistical analyses of the data. The analyses chosen were Fisher's Exact Probability Test, Mann-Whitney U Tests and Spearman *rho* correlations. The probability values derived from the analyses (60 in total) were corrected using the Unordered Bonferroni Method (Rosenthal & Rubin, 1984).

RESULTS

Characteristics of Haunting Cases With and Without Apparitions

Most of the haunting cases in Gauld's collection took place during the nineteenth (38%) and the twentieth (30%) centuries, and they came mainly from European countries.

An analysis of the number of phenomena other than apparitions in each case was done using the characteristics in Table 3 (excluding trickery, natural causes, investigation by an outsider, length of case, time of activity, sex of agent, age of focal person, focal person disturbed, house-centred phenomena, witch blamed and exorcism). We obtained a mean of 5.2 characteristics overall, with a range of 1-15 ($Md = 4$, $SD = 3.2$).

The overall mean ratings for the scales of testimony and detail were 3.7 and 2.6 respectively. This suggests that the cases as a whole are moderately good in testimony and detail. A Spearman correlation of the ratings of both scales gives a *rho* of 0.75 ($z = 9.8$, $p < 0.000006$), showing an association between the two scales.

Characteristics of Haunting Apparition Cases

Most of the cases in the collection occurred during the nineteenth century (52%), and most took place in England (55%).

These cases had a mean frequency of phenomena other than apparitions of 6.0, and a range of 1-15 ($Md = 5$, $SD = 3.6$). The testimony and detail scales showed means of 4.1 and 2.9 respectively. These indicate moderate levels of testimony and detail.

Table 4 shows the characteristics of the cases other than apparitions. Some of those with a frequency of occurrence of over ten per cent of the cases include: case duration of less than a year (11%), of a year or more (33%), house-centred cases (18%), reports of small objects moving (20%), raps (39%), imitative noises (49%), voices and the like (30%) and luminous effects (14%).

Comparisons Between Haunting Cases With Apparitions and Those Without

When compared, the ratings of testimony and detail were significantly different. The apparition cases had higher mean ratings of testimony (4.1 vs. 3.3, $z = 3.5$, $p(2t) = 0.012$), and of detail (2.9 vs. 2.3, $z = 3.6$, $p(2t) = 0.009$) than the cases without apparitions, as evaluated with Mann-Whitney U Tests.

The two groups of cases also differed in the mean frequency of phenomena other than apparitions in each case. Cases with apparitions had a mean of 6.0 ($Md = 5$, $SD = 3.6$), while cases without apparitions had a lower mean of 4.3

Table 4

Comparison of Features of Haunting Cases With and Without Apparitions

Feature	Percentage		Feature	Percentage	
	no A	A		no A	A
Trickery	1	1	Objects animated	0	1
Natural causes found	2	0	Bedclothes, pillows disturbed . . .	6	13
Investigated by competent			Cloth, clothes cut or torn	2	2
outsiders	6	6	Hair cut	0	1
Lasted less than a year	17	11	Persons in bed felt oppression . . .	2	4
Lasted a year or more	19	33	Assault (pinches, blows		
Daytime	0	1	and scratches)	6	9
Nocturnal	35	32	Animals attacked or annoyed . . .	2	3
Both daytime and nocturnal	3	8	Possession or obsession	0	1
Male focal person	1	1	Levitation of persons	2	2
Female focal person	5	6	Phenomena seemed to		
Male and female focal persons . . .	1	0	manifest ESP	2	1
Focal person under 20	2	2	Communication through		
Focal person 20 or over	5	4	phenomena	6	8
Focal person disturbed	2	1	Communication with 'daemon' . .	1	1
House-centred phenomena	12	18	Communication with deceased		
Small objects moved	12	20	person	4	5
Larger objects moved	12	22	Witch blamed	3	2
Objects moved as if 'carried' . . .	1	5	Exorcism successful	3	1
Apports	9	6	Exorcism unsuccessful	1	0
Objects appear in mid-air, seem			Exorcism temporarily successful .	1	1
to pass through ceiling	0	1	Cold breeze or air movement . . .	2	7
Raps, etc.	33	39	Metal bent or broken	0	1
Imitative and miscellaneous			Doors or windows opened or shut	4	16**
noises	44	49	Latches, handles or door seemed		
Voices, groans, whistles, etc. . . .	16	30*	to move, locks turned,		
Small animals seen, heard or felt .	4	6	keys moved	3	7
Misty figures	2	1	Direct writing, painting, drawing .	0	3
Luminous effects	7	14	Marked stones thrown away		
Incendiary effects	4	3	or returned	0	1
Objects thrown or transported			Candles or lamps put out,		
found hot	0	2	burned low or burned blue . . .	2	5
Inundations of water, cold water,			Wire bells, other bells rung	2	6
water boils over, etc.	1	3	Plants uprooted, damaged	1	1
Electrical installation, switches			Structural damage	1	1
tampered with	1	1	Hands seen or felt	2	11***
Spontaneous breakages	2	1	Filth, excrement thrown or spread	1	3
Objects arranged	2	1	Offensive smells	1	4

Notes. The percentages given are percentages of the *total* cases ($N = 172$). The column headed 'no A' is the cases *without* apparitions ($N = 83$) and the column headed 'A' is the cases *with* apparitions ($N = 89$).

Most of the analyses were done using Fisher's Exact Probability Test. The exceptions are the analyses concerning time, sex and exorcism. These were analysed using chi-squared tests.

Exact p : * 0.057 ** 0.035 *** 0.022

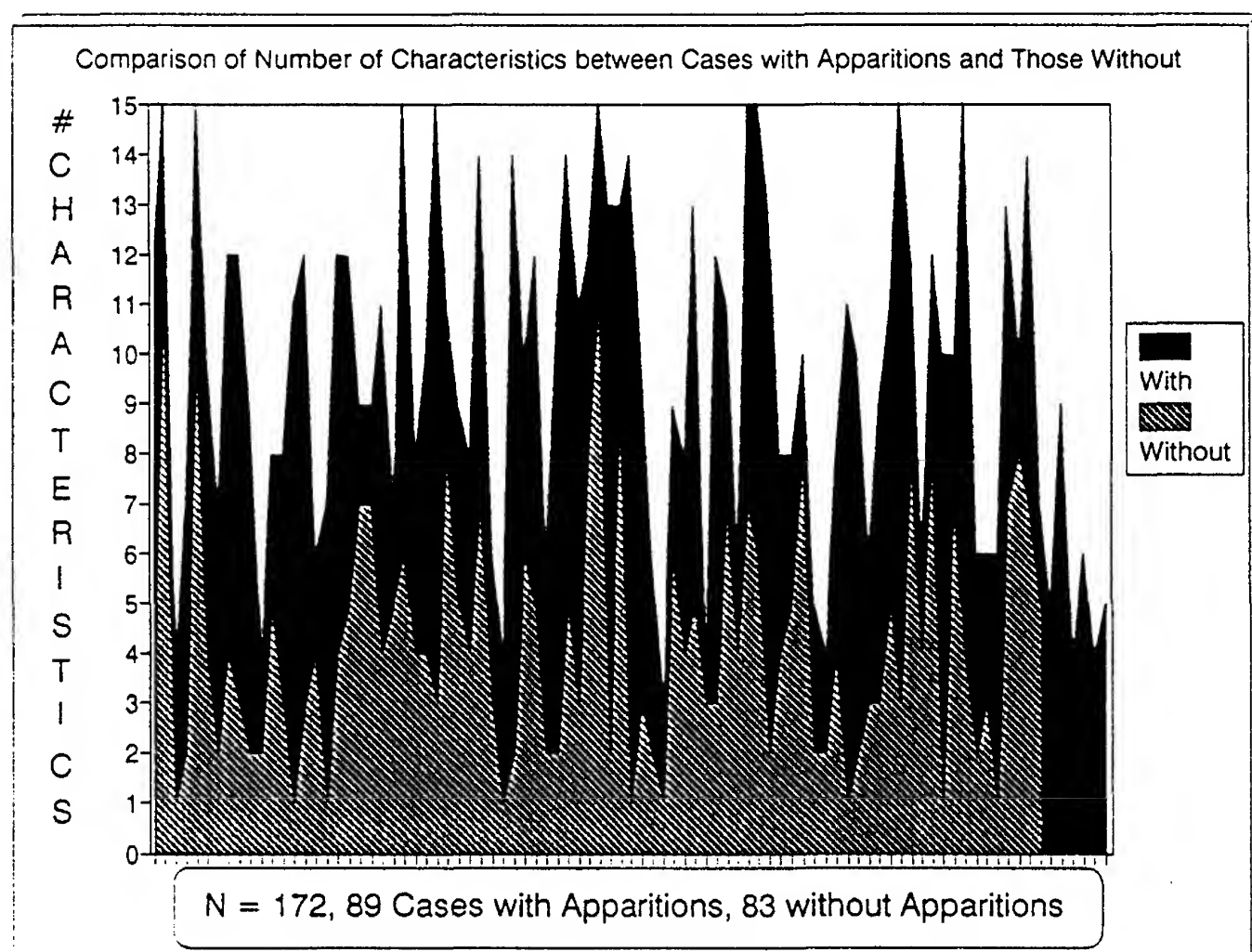


Figure 1

($Md = 4$, $SD = 2.5$). A Mann-Whitney U Test showed a significant difference ($z = 3.2$, $p(2t) = 0.0042$). Figure 1 shows a visual representation of these differences.

Table 4 shows the comparisons between both types of cases. Our hypotheses related to survival – that cases with apparitions would have more reports of voices, groans, whistles, possession or obsession, ESP manifested through the phenomena, communications, and direct writing, painting and drawing than cases without apparitions – were not confirmed. The prediction related to voices and similar sounds was, however, marginally significant ($p = 0.057$) in favour of the apparition cases. The only other two significant results were a higher frequency of phenomena related to the movement of doors and windows ($p = 0.04$) and of hands seen or felt ($p = 0.02$) in the apparition cases.

DISCUSSION

Although Gauld's case collection contains many cases, we are aware that our results may not be generalizable to all cases. Gauld took pains to obtain cases from a variety of sources, places, time periods and evidential standards. But the collection (and here we are referring to the 172 cases of Cluster 2) is still biased towards cases from England (45%), and towards cases from the modern era (68% of the cases occurred during the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries). Similarly, the cases with apparitions occurred mostly in England (55%) and mostly during the last two centuries (75%). This is not meant as a criticism of Gauld, but only to note a limitation of the case-collection approach. Gauld may have had more sources of English cases available than of cases from other countries, or his collection may reflect interests of particular societies, groups or individuals, or of particular eras.

The most interesting part of our study was the comparisons between cases with and without apparitions. As seen in Table 4, the survival-related hypotheses of the study (characteristics that were assumed to suggest intention and possible intelligence) did not differ significantly between the two groups of cases. The prediction about voices and the like was suggestive, but it was not statistically significant ($p = 0.057$).

Most of the analyses were not significant but there are trends pointing towards a higher frequency of longer cases, raps, luminous effects and cold breezes in the hauntings with apparitions. Another interesting trend is the fact that physical phenomena such as movements of small and large objects, hot objects, disturbance of bedclothes, movement of doors, windows, handles and latches were more frequent in the apparition cases. However, only movements of doors and windows achieved statistical significance ($p = 0.035$). On a survival model this could be interpreted as support for the idea that discarnate entities (presumably represented by the apparitions seen) were active in trying to convey their presence or command attention for unknown motives. Other explanations are possible, however. Is it conceivable that people may see apparitions as a result of experiencing complex and numerous anomalous physical effects over a short period of time? Perhaps exposure to these phenomena raises the levels of expectation that something real but unseen is responsible for the occurrences. Such an expectation might provoke percipients into hallucinating. It is unlikely, however, that such an explanation adequately accounts for cases in which the apparition is collectively perceived, or is perceived by different and successive tenants of a house without knowledge of previous disturbances, or when the apparition provides veridical information. But regardless of the explanation the fact is that cases with apparitions are frequently accompanied by physical effects, thus casting doubts on Myers' (1903, Vol. 2, p. 72) affirmation that there seems to be a negative correlation between movement of objects and apparitions in these cases. In addition, and as pointed out by others before us (e.g. Gauld & Cornell, 1979), the prevalence of reports of physical phenomena suggests that discussions of haunting apparitions that ignore these phenomena (e.g. Tyrrell, 1953) are in need of revision.

Further analyses indicate differences between the two groups of haunting cases. The apparition group's higher number of phenomena suggests that these cases are more complex (in terms of number of anomalous events) than the cases without apparitions. While some may assume that the pairing of apparitions and higher number of phenomena other than apparitions indicates the working of discarnate agency, at this point we wish only to emphasize that we have found empirical evidence to support the idea that the overall number of features of hauntings may depend to some extent on the presence or absence of apparitions. Findings such as this are important not only in

terms of frequencies of particular characteristics, but in terms of combinations or clusters of phenomena. It is precisely comparative analyses such as the ones reported here that allow the researcher to tap into the variability of these experiences.

The cases with apparitions obtained significantly better scores on the scales of detail and testimony. It is not surprising that the scales of detail and testimony correlated with each other when it is considered that the ratings for both scales were coded on the basis of the best detail and testimony of the cases. Higher scores of testimony may show that the cases with apparitions provide better evidence than those without apparitions. This is an important finding to the extent that it contradicts the idea that more dramatic case narratives are necessarily less evidential. It is interesting that reports of apparitions are not linked with low evidential standards in this analysis, a fact that reinforces the validity of the observations.

However, our findings regarding the overall number of characteristics of cases, as well as the degree of detail and value of testimony, may have alternative explanations. Maybe cases with apparitions are more interesting to investigators, and as a result they are studied in more detail and with more care than cases without apparitions. Such hypothetical interest could have produced the effects we have uncovered in our analyses. Alternative explanations such as this are part of the limitations of the case-collection approach to the study of these phenomena.

In this paper we have focused on the relationship of haunting apparitions to other phenomena present in haunting cases and to other variables (e.g. the scores of testimony and detail). But further study of these issues requires a more detailed view of the phenomenon. It is to be hoped that future research will focus on the specific characteristics of reported apparitions as opposed to noting the presence or absence of apparitions in hauntings, as was done in this report. We need more research in which the inner characteristics of different types of apparitions are systematically contrasted, or related to different contexts or circumstances, as was done by Hart with apparitions of the living and of the dead (Hart and collaborators, 1956). We could study, for example, the characteristics of hauntings in relation to collectively-perceived versus non-collectively-perceived apparitions, to apparitions showing consciousness or intention versus those that are seemingly automatic and non-conscious, or to apparitions corresponding to events that happened in the house (such as tragic deaths) versus apparitions unrelated to these factors. Such an approach, as argued by Osis (1983) regarding research on apparitions, could help us study the varieties of experiences and identify different possible types of phenomena. Osis has included in his discussion aspects related to the psychology of the percipients. In addition, he has suggested that research on apparitions may be conducted by predicting the presence of particular features, such as single versus collective percipience, according to different apparitional models (Osis, 1981). In his words (pp. 1-2):—

Apparitions are often regarded . . . as one basic phenomenological category. However, the actual data on apparitions are not monomorphic but suggest qualitative differences and several very different sources. For example, some apparitions act primarily in the present, which suggests here-and-now causes; others act in the

surroundings and circumstances of the past and may be its products. Separate analyses of both types of apparitions could clarify these characteristics, while lumping them together might only blur the picture.

A similar approach towards the development of taxonomies of haunting apparitions and of hauntings in general may prove to be fruitful. Useful predictions may be generated, for example, from what Bozzano (1925) called the 'psychometric' explanation of hauntings and what Price (1939) discussed as the 'psychic ether' model to account for these phenomena. Since the model assumes that the haunting is basically a replaying of events that have been imprinted in a place and are psychically perceived by the percipient, perhaps we should expect that the cases considered to have been produced by this process would be associated with phenomena lacking in intention, intelligence and consciousness, although those attributes are difficult to assess. Other models based on survival assumptions and on normal explanations such as expectation or aspects related to the psychological profile of the experiencers could also provide a theoretical framework to help us shape our classificatory and taxonomic studies of these experiences. The analysis of old cases will be useful in this regard but new cases will eventually be needed if we are going to achieve some progress in this area. Unfortunately, hauntings, apparitions and the like do not seem to be on the priority list of parapsychologists these days, as judged by the dearth of cases published or reported in conferences in recent years.

In the meantime, we hope that the work we have reported in this paper will illustrate the variety of analyses that may be done with reports of apparitions, and make the point that there is much to be done before we can claim that we have a true understanding of these phenomena.

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